To the Soldiers of the Union.

must be necessarily his course under such guidance, in the new and untried field of politics to which he has suffered himself to be led.

The faults and misfortunes of his military career, we believe are attributable not to himself, but to those around him, whom he suffered to control his own better judgment. The veterans of Fair Oaks and Antietam cannot but recall the influences to which he yielded, and the fatal facility with which those influences were exerted. If this were the case in a career which was the pride and chosen pursuit of his life, how much more powerful, and how much more fatal must be the influence of those who succeed in winning his frank confidence in the novel and tortuous paths of politics? We have already seen the loyal and unsuspecting soldier become the tool of designing Copperheads. Now he has accepted the Presidential nomination, made unanimous on the motion of Clement L. Vallandigham, and he ceases to be a free agent. He is the creature of the party which is to make him President, and for the hope of that mess of pottage he resigns his birthright of independence. As his predecessor in that position, Buchanan, declared, he is no longer George B. McClellan, but a platform. Let us, therefore, see what is the platform to which he has transmuted himself in accepting the nomination, and let us remember that such men as Fernando Wood, Vallandigham, William B. Reed, Judge Woodward, know what they are about when they advocate his election, and can and will hold him to do their bidding, if they succeed in placing him in the Presidential chair.

The Democratic Chicago platform is short, and we will give it to you entire, that you may know what you are called upon to vote for when you are asked to vote for McClellan.

The first resolution declares,

Resolved, That in the future, as in the past, we will adhere with unswerving fidelity to the Union, under the Constitution, as the only solid foundation for our strength, security and happiness as a people, and as the frame-work of the Government, equally conducive to the welfare and prosperity of all the States, both Northern and Southern.

This is unexceptionable so far as it goes, but sounding generalities of this kind cost nothing, and that these mean nothing is sufficiently shown by the next:

Resolved, That this Convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretence of military necessity, or the war-power, higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired, and that justice, humanity, liberty and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for the cessation of hostilities, with a view to the ultimate convention of all the states, or other peaceable means to that end, that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States.

This is the one important plank in the platform. It is the only allusion to the war in which you have played so glorious a part, and to the strife which is imperilling our national existence. It recognizes that war only to pronounce it a failure. So far from arraigning the rebels for causelessly bringing upon us so dreadful a contest, it reserves its indignation for those acts of the Administration by which you have been protected against the machinations of traitors at home. And to crown all, it proposes that you should lay down your arms, abandon your conquests, and leave to a set of designing and knavish politicians the settlement of terms of peace! We all want peace—a peace conquered by your bayonets, a lasting peace in which the Union, cemented by the blood of countless heroes, shall endure for ages. We want no such peace as can be had by these fawning tricksters, petitioning at the feet of Jefferson Davis. Such peace is only to be bought by the dismemberment of our glorious Union. The "independence of the South" is the one indispensable preliminary to any negotiations, and the independence of the South means renewed and ceaseless war, as soon as the South shall have recovered from the exhaustion wrought by your toils and victories. Are you prepared to see the reward of your struggles thus snatched

away from you, and are you ready to bequeath to your children the long succession of deadly strife which must continue between the dissevered States?

The third resolution reads:

Resolved, That the direct interference of the military authority of the United States in the recent elections held in Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri and Delaware was a shameful violation of the Constitution, and a repetition of such acts in the approaching elections will be held as revolutionary, and will be resisted with all the means and power under our control.

When the Administration, with a careful regard for the liberties of the whole country, and for your safety, prevented open and avowed traitors from voting in Maryland and Kentucky, the act was approved by all loyal men, and you, least of all, can be expected to complain of a measure which secured you from a fire in the rear. McClellan himself, when he was a soldier, and before he became a politician, himself took an active part in measures of this kind. The Democracy, who counted upon a diversion in favor of their Southern friends, may well complain of the failure of their plan, but can hardly expect your sympathy for their sufferings. With secret armed organizations in the North, they may now prepare for and endeavor to provoke a collision with the National authorities, and may hope by thus diverting the attention of the goverment to allow you to be sacrificed, unsupported by the North. Will you lend your aid to such nefarious schemes?

The fourth resolution is:

Resolved, That the aim and object of the Democratic party is to preserve the Federal Union and the rights of the States unimpaired, and they hereby declare that they consider the administrative usurpation of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the Constitution, the subversion of civil by military law in the States not in insurrection, the arbitrary military arrest, imprisonment, trial and sentence of American citizens in States where civil law exists in full force, the suppression of freedom of speech and of the press, the denial of the right of asylum, the open and avowed disregard of State

rights, the employment of unusual test oaths, and the interference with and denial of the right of the people to bear arms, as calculated to prevent the restoration of the Union and the perpetuation of a Government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed.

The Convention must have found it no easy task to preserve its gravity when this resolution was read. It had listened for hours to the vilest abuse of the Administration by its orators, and it was asked to proclaim to the land that freedom of speech was denied. Its organs everywhere had for three years been denouncing the war and the Government, and it declared that the liberty of the press was in danger. One of its most influential managers present was Vallandigham, a convicted traitor, returned from exile in defiance of the authorities of the country, and it told the people that personal liberty was destroyed. And to crown its absurdity, it selected as its standard bearer General McClellan, one of whose earliest acts in office was the arrest of the Maryland Legislature while in session. It is an insult to your common sense if your are expected to believe this factious stuff, which its authors so evidently knew to be false.

One count in this bill of indictment, however, deserves your attention. The "right of the people to bear arms," has been interfered with so far as was necessary to prevent the transmission of weapons to rebels, the arming of guerillas in Missouri, and the supplying of revolvers and rifles to a secret organization in the Northwest, of which the sole object is to create a revolution at home, and to prevent the Government from supporting and reinforcing you. You can judge as well as we, whether this is a subject on which to arraign the Administration.

The fifth resolution proceeds:

Resolved, That the shameful disregard of the Administration to its duty in respect to our fellow citizens who now, and long have been prisoners, and are now in a suffering condition, deserves the severest reprobation on the score alike of public and common humanity.

The baseness of this attempt to make political capital out of

the sufferings of our imprisoned heroes, is unparallelled. There is no word of condemnation for the barbarity of the rebels who steal the clothing of their prisoners, and expose them to all the vicissitudes of weather, without shelter and with insufficient food. There is no condemnation of the systematic cruelty with which this scandalous treatment is continued, with the hope of rendering our men incapable of service if exchanged, while the excess of their suffering is to be used as a lever to force the Government to concede the unreasonable demands of the rebel authorities. The rebels are to be fawned upon and conciliated, and the Government is to be assailed because it will not expose you to the attacks of sixty or seventy thousand fresh and well fed troops, whom your skill and valor have captured, and who have been gaining health and strength in the model prison camps established by a too indulgent Government.

The sixth and last resolution is designed especially for you:

Resolved, That the sympathy of the great Democratic party is heartily and earnestly extended to the soldiery of our army, who are and have been in the field under the flag of our country, and in the event of our attaining power they will receive all care, protection, regard and kindness that the brave soldiers of our Republic have so nobly earned.

Soldiers, rejoice. The votes which the Democracy vainly endeavored to deny to you, have been secured for you by the National Union party. You are no longer disfranchised; you can vote, and the Democracy is at last willing to pat you on the head and to try if your suffrages can be secured by a few honeyed words and hollow promises of protection. Exquisite mockery, this, coming from men who have steadily resisted every measure to raise money for your support, and troops for your reinforcement; from men who have derided and belittled every victory won by your arms, and exaggerated every misfortune from which you have suffered. You know what value to put upon this sudden conversion. You know who discourage enlistments. You know who resist the draft. You know who got up the Copperhead riots in New York last year, when Governor Seymour called the anti-draft mob "his noble-hearted

friends," and pledged himself to have the draft postponed. You know who have endeavored to emasculate every conscription act in Congress, and to render it powerless after it was enacted. Yet these Democrats, who stay at home enjoying the wealth protected by your bayonets, dare to insult you with empty proffers of sympathy, while they are doing everything in their power to prevent the filling of your wasted ranks, and to withhold from you that succor which would enable you to crush the rebellion at once and forever.

Such is the platform, such the principles for which you are asked to vote in voting for George B. McClellan. It is enough to make the buried heroes of Williamsburg and Malvern Hill rise from their graves, to see the chief, for whom they so willingly gave their lives, yield to the temptations of a Presidential chance, and avow himself the exponent of a policy which thus declares that their motives were mistaken, their patriotism futile, their sufferings worse than useless.

Read over that platform carefully and study it for yourselves. You will see that of its six resolutions four are devoted to bitter condemnation of the Administration, while there is not a word which, even by implication, condemns the rebellion. The war is a failure, and ought never to have been commenced. You cannot put down the rebellion—one Southerner is equal to five Northerners—therefore do you stand aside, and let the politicians do the job of tinkering the Constitution until it suits Jefferson Davis, or of arranging terms of separation. You know as well as we do what this talk of "cessation of hostilities" means—shameful, dishonorable peace, the surrender of a nation to a band of armed rebels. You know that if we once consent to lay down our arms and give up our present vantage ground, this war is over, for we acknowledge ourselves whipped, and can do nothing but accept the terms dictated by our masters. You know, too, that such a peace would last but till the Confederacy had replenished its stores, when the struggle would be renewed with every chance against us. If we cannot overcome them now, when their last man is in the field, and they

are tottering to their ruin, what hope would we have when they should attack us with their strength renewed?

Yet this is the purport of the platform which the once honored McClellan consents to accept. You will, doubtless, be told that it is not so. Anxious place-hunters will endeavor to impose upon you, and, relying upon the seclusion of the camp, will try to persuade you that the nomination of McClellan is a triumph of the War Democracy. Believe them not, for it is not so pretended here. The Keystone Club, which you doubtless remember as the purest of Democratic organizations, has already adopted the motto of "McClellan, Pendleton and Peace." At the great ratification meeting in New York, every speaker declared in favor of peace, denounced the draft, and congratulated the party that it had finally and definately accepted the peace policy. Mr. James Brooks exclaimed: "No more fighting; fighting will never restore the Union; fighting and cuffing make no friends." Judge Daly "thought there was a possibility of a peace and a preservation of the Union through a compromise." Mr. Nelson Smith told the crowd of admiring Democrats, "the question now is, whether after four years of war this Union can be saved without any further prosecution of the war. * * * After four years of war, we must now resort to some other means than war, by which our troubles can be settled and peace restored—that peace is received as the duty of the incoming administration, a cessation of hostilities, and a convention of the THE TWO PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY, to see if they cannot settle this matter." Mr. Conrad Swackhammer assured his applauding auditors that "George B. McClellan will be the next President, and within twenty-four hours after that election peace will be declared. We are tired and sick of calls for 500,000 more men by those who have no thought but for slavery. I hope in November you will all go forth, not with a musket to take your brother's life, but to cast a little white ballot for McClellan and Pendleton, and thus this war will be stopped. This war will be ended by diplomacy." Mr. Robert C. Hutchins declared that "the people demand some other means of restoring

the Union than that of war, and believe that a restoration can be reached by peaceable means, and not by massacre. War and only war can never restore the Union; an armistice may, but a million of men cannot; it has been proved that an armed force cannot." Mr. William G. Gover said: "I am in favor of an armistice, and believe that we can settle our difficulties better by diplomacy than we can by the bayonet and the sword." Mr. John L. Overfield exhorted his hearers: "Now, gentlemen, you've but to look this matter in the face and say whether you will pay these high prices, and be drafted and torn from the bosoms of your families. (Cries, No, no.) Will you be torn from these, or will you stay at home and train your children up; that, gentlemen, is to be decided next November." Judge Dean, who announced himself as a "War Democrat," declared that "if Lincoln attempted to enforce a draft in this city or anywhere else, he would find that the 'beast' Butler could not carry it out."

In the same spirit is the following from the organ of Fernando Wood, the New York Daily News, of September 1st:

"We acccept the platform of the Convention as a great triumph of the peace party. The proposition for an armistice and a convention of all the States, as suggested several months ago by *The News*, has received the sanction of the Democracy through their delegates, and the peace men may rest assured that that proposition, carried into effect, will bring about an enduring peace between the sections. The nominee of the Chicago Convention for the Presidency is not the candidate of our preference, but, standing upon the platform upon which he has been nominated, and * * * being assured that with the election of General McClellan the war will end, we will support the nominations made at Chicago, from this hour until the close of the polls in November.

"The nominee for the Vice Presidency is the man of all men, whom, had the choice been ours, we would have selected. In the nomination of George H. Pendleton, a tribute has been worthily offered to the peace sentiment of which he has been a consistent champion."

Such are the principles and such the policy which you are asked to support, when your votes are solicited for McClellan

and Pendleton. No declaration from General McClellan that he is willing to continue the war can countervail the plain purport of the platform which he accepts in accepting the nomination. By that he is bound, and by the declarations of his supporters, and they will take care that their pledges are carried out. If he should prove recalcitrant; if his old military instincts get the better of his political training, and if thus his life were the only barrier between the "peace champion" Pendleton and the Presidency, that life might prove a frail and insufficient obstacle. It is now a matter of history that President Lincoln was to be assassinated in Baltimore on his way to the inauguration. The same spirit which was ready to commit so useless a crime still exists and might be tempted to its repetition when the consequences would be so tremendous. With Pendleton as President, the cause of the South would be doubly triumphant.

Peace! we all want peace—but not a peace between the "two peoples of this country," or the "two sections" talked of by Democratic speakers and editors. We want a peace secured by your valor, and resting upon the supremacy of law and government; a peace which we can bequeath to our children in a restored and purified Union which no traitor, North or South, East or West, shall again dare to disturb. The diplomacy and conventions of the Peace Democracy must begin by admitting the independence of the South; they acknowledge that you have been whipped by the rebels, and that you cannot whip them. These fine phrases mean only that some juggling politicians shall meet to decide where the boundary line shall run; whether Maryland and West Virginia and Kentucky and Missouri shall be allowed to join the Confederacy; under what conditions the North West shall enjoy the navigation of the Mississippi; how the Territories shall be divided; what portion of the Navy we shall give up to them; what damages we shall pay for the injuries inflicted upon them; and under what penalties we will bind ourselves to return all fugitive slaves.

This is what is meant by an armistice and convention. You

know the South, and the spirit of its leaders, and you know the absurdity of expecting them to abandon for a few honeyed words the independence which they will have gained by the sword, if we acknowledge, by electing McClellan and Pendleton, that we cannot overcome them. To vote for such a ticket is to confess that you are defeated without hope of redemption.

Already the Chicago Convention has inflicted incalculable injury upon you. The failing cause of the rebellion is only sustained by the hope of a change of policy on the part of the North. Its leaders have been anxiously watching for some indication that the united front presented by the loyal States, is about to be broken. They know that a persistence in the present energetic system of hostilities must break them down ere long from sheer exhaustion, even if you win no great victories; and if the hope of relief from the North be taken away, they cannot much longer keep their wretched people in arms against you. How eagerly, therefore, must they hail the words of comforting assurance borne to them from Chicago; how it must nerve them to fresh exertions to hear that a powerful party in the North openly declares that the war has been a failure and must be stopped. How they must rejoice when they see that party proclaim resistance to the draft, and promise, if successful, to grant an armistice, and settle all disputes by diplomacy. Whatever additional vigor you may experience in their military operations, whatever number of fresh troops they may be able to cajole or force into their armies, you may, therefore, regard as the legitimate fruits of the renewed expectations excited by the programme of the Democracy. And why should they not believe it? Three years ago, they saw in General McClellan the man whom of all others they dreaded most. He was the leader of our finest army; he promised them war, sharp, short and decisive; he arrested the whole Legislature of Maryland, to "break the back-bone of the rebellion;" he used their slaves for military purposes without hesitation, and he proclaimed that unconditional submission was the only terms that could be listened to from rebels. Now they see that very man standing side by side with Pendle-

ton, the "consistent champion of peace," on a platform which denounces the war as a failure, and pledges him if successful, to offer them an armistice and convention. Well may they believe that the North has grown tired of the war, and that if they can resist until the fourth of next March, their independence will be secured.

This injury has been inflicted upon you by those who insult you with their pretended sympathy. You must continue to suffer from it during September and October, but in November, you can retrieve it. The crushing defeat of McClellan and Pendleton, will dash the hopes of rebeldom. The re-election of Abraham Lincoln, will show to the misguided men of the South, that the determination of the North is unconquerable; that we will brook no divided country; that the war will be prosecuted to the bitter end; that your wasted ranks will be constantly reinforced; that the whole energy of the country will be devoted to your support and assistance. This conviction, seconded by your valor, will do more to end the war than all the conventions and diplomacy of the Democracy. When the South once recognizes that further resistance is hopeless, the South will submit, and you will be able to return home in triumph, the conquerors of an honorable and enduring peace.

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